

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 DAR ES 00937 01 OF 02 031612Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----105103 031618Z /42

O 031357Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7828
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0937

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, TZ
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: NYERERE'S LATEST VIEWS

REF: A) STATE 053341, B) STATE 053342

1. SUMMARY: CONTINUING HIS PRIVATE DIALOGUE WITH US, NYERERE IS WRITING LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER, WARNING OF CONTINUED FIGHTING IN RHODESIA AND OF RENEWEED US-AFRICA CONFLICT IF WE DO NOT MOVE AHEAD ON A-AP. HIS PLEA WILL BE: "PLEASE CALL A CONFERENCE". NYERERE BELIEVES MUZOREWA HAS POLITICAL FUTURE IF HE PULLS OUT OF SALISBURY TALKS NOW; HE IS TRYING TO GET THAT MESSAGE TO HIM. NYERERE DID NOT COMMIT HIMSELF ON DISCUSSION OF "MINIMUM ESSENTIALS" FOR SUCCESSFUL AAP MEETING WITH PF. END SUMMARY

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2. PRESIDENT NYERERE CALLED ME IN FOR ANOTHER HOUR'S PRIVATE DISCUSSION OF RHODESIA MORNING MARCH 3. ONLY PRESS SECRETARY SAMMY MDEE WAS PRESENT. NYERERE MADE BRIEF, TEASING MENTION

OF CALL ON ME YESTERDAY BY GROUP OF US CITIZENS IN TANZANIA PROTESTING "US VACILLATION" ON RHODESIA WHICH DOMINATED FRONT PAGE OF DAILY NEWS THIS MORNING (DAR 901). HE WENT ON TO SAY HE TOO

WAS WORRIED ABOUT APPEARANCE AND CONSEQUENCES OF VACILLATION--
BY ANYONE -- ON RHODESIA.

3. NYERERE REVIEWED HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER IN 1976. HE SAID THAT HE HAD CORRECTLY FEARED AT THAT TIME THAT WHEN UK GOT GEARED UP TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT RHODESIA WITH US SUPPORT, SMITH WOULD FIND A WAY TO NULLIFY THE WHOLE THING BY THROWING OUT AN ALTERNATIVE WHICH THE BRITISH WOULD USE AS AN EXCUSE TO BACK OFF. THE SAME TRWING WAS HAPPENING AGAIN. NYERERE HAD WRITTEN CALLAGHAN TO SAY THAT THE ONLY WAY TO PREVENT THIS WAS TO GO AHEAD WITH THE A-A PLAN VIA ANOTHER MEETING WITH THE PF.

4. MEANWHILE, NYERERE WANTED TO GO EVEN FURTHER WITH US IN TRY-
ING TO CONVINCE US OF DANGER OF NOT PROCEEDING WITH A-A PLAN.
HE WANTED ME TO PASS ON HIS THOUGHTS NOW. HE WAS PREPARING A
LETTER FOR PRESIDENT CARTER WHICH HE WOULD SEND SHORTLY. THE KEY
POINT IS THAT IF WE DON'T MOVE AHEAD WITH A MEETING WITH THE
PF, THE US AND THE UK ARE GOING TO END UP PROVIDING SYMPATHY
AND EVEN SUPPORT FOR SMITH'S INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. (NYERERE SAID
HE COULD UNDERSTAND THE PRESSURES ON WASHINGTON AND LONDON TO
THIS END.) AFRICA WILL NEVER ACCEPT SUCH A SETTLEMENT. THE WAR
WILL GO ON. AFRICA AND THE US WILL BE IN CONFLICT AGAIN ON A
MATTER OF VITAL INTEREST TO AFRICA.

5. NYERERE VERY MUCH DID NOT WANT THIS TO HAPPEN BUT HE SAW NO
OTHER WAY OUT OF IT AND HE WANTED US TO KNOW THAT. THE RHODESIAN
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WAR WAS A POPULAR ONE IN AFRICA. MUZOREWA HAD WON MUCH OF HIS
STATUE BY BEING ASSOCIATED WITH IT IN ITS INITIAL STAGES. NKOMO
HAD LOST SUPPORT WHEN HE TALKED WITH SMITH AND HAD WON IT BACK
WHEN HE RETURNED TO CHAMPIONING THE WAR.

6. NYERERE WAS SORRY FOR MUZOREWA. THE BISHOP WAS A GOOD MAN
AND DESERVED A ROLE IN RIMBABWE'S FUTURE BUT IF HE STUCK WITH HIS
PRESENT COURSE, HE WOULD BE DESTROYED. NYERERE WAS TRYING TO
GET A MESSAGE TO MUZOREWA TELLING HIM TO TELL THE BRITISH IN
LONDON WHAT HE HAD ACHIEVED BUT THAT IT WASN'T ENOUGH AND HE
WAS GETTING OUT OF SMITH'S ARRANGEMENT.

7. THE SIMPLE POLITICAL FACT WITH WHICH HE IS CONFRONTED,
NYERERE SAID, IS THAT NO RELIABLE RESPONSIBLE INFLUENTIAL AFRICAN
WILL SUPPORT SMITH'S INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WHILE THE WAR IS GOING
ON. AND THERE IS NO WAY AN ACCEPTABLE PLACE CAN BE FOUND FOR
THE PEOPLE WHO ARE FIGHTING THE WAR IN AN ARRANGEMENT PRESIDED
OVER BY SMITH. IF THERE IS NO A-A PLAN, THERE IS NOTHING BUT
WAR. HENCE, UK MUST WORK OUT SPECIFICS OF AGREEMENT ALREADY
REACHED IN PRINCIPLE WITH PF AND GO ON FROM THERE: "PLEASE
CALL THE CONFERENCE' IS WHAT I HAVE SAID TO CALLAGHAN AND WILL
BE SAYING TO PRESIDENT CARTER." NYERERE CLAIMED, APPARENTLY ON

BASIS OF LOCAL PRESSREPORT TAKEN FROM REUTER SOURCE IN LONDON,
THAT NKOMO AND MUGABE SAID THEY WILLING TO MEET WITH BRITISAH
AGAIN.

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ACTION NODS-00

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O 031357Z MAR 78
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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0937

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

8. I SAID I WOULD PASS MESSAGE TO WASHINGTON. AS I HAD TOLD HIM
THE OTHER DAY, I AND UK COLLEAGUE EXPECTED TO BE GIVING HIM PRE-
SENTATION SHORTLY. IT MIGHT NOT PROVIDE AN ANSWER TO HIS QUESTION
ON THE CONFERENCE BUT WOULD, I WAS SURE, MAKE CLEAR THAT THE
A-A PLAN HAD NOT BEEN ABANDONED. MY OWN VIEWS ON ANOTHER
MEETING WERE MIXED. THE A-A PLAN WAS NOT ENTIRELY UP TO US.
WE CERTAINLY APPRECIATED HIS AND HIS FL COLLEAGUES' COOPERATION
AND HELP TO DATE, AND WE ASSUMED THIS WOULD CONTINUE, BUT AS FAR
AS I COULD REMEMBER, THE STRONGEST STATEMECE FROM NYERERE HIM-
SELF WE HAD IN THE RECORD WAS THAT THE A-A PLAN WAS AN ACCEPTABLE
BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS. THE PF HAD BEEN FAR LESS FORTHCOMING.
ANOTHER MEETING WHICH FAILED WOULD BE THE END OF THE A-A PLAN.

9. I ADDED I HAD MY OWN IDEAS, NOT NECESSARILY THOSE OF PEOPLE
IN AUTHORITY IN WASHINGTON OR LONDON, ON WHAT WOULD BE ESSENTIALS
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FOR A SUCCESSFUL MEETING WITH THE PF. I WONDERED WHAT NYERERE THOUGHT OF THESE. I THEN RECITED A PARAPHRASE OF THE CONDITIONS SET FORTH IN PARA 4 REF A; SUPREME AUTHORITY OF THE R.C., EQUAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY ALL PARTIES, UN FORCE, RETENTION OF POLICE FORCER LORD CARVER'S PLAN FOR THE CEASE-FIRE, AND NEW ZIMBABWE ARMY.

10. NYERERE REACTED ONLY TO THE FIRST, SAYING: "YOU MEAN NO POWER-SHARING AT ALL WITH THE R.C.?" I SAID I DID NOT THINK THAT WAS IMPLIED. HE DID NOT REACT TO OTHER SPECIFICS, SAYING ONLY THAT HE HAD ALREADY TOLD ME HIS BELIEF THAT THE REMAINING DISTANCE BETWEEN THE UK AND THE PF WAS SMALL BUT THAT IT MUST BE DEFINED IN A MEETING. IF THE UK WOULD COME UP WITH SOMETHING REASONABLE, THE FRONT LINE WOULD PUT ALL ITS WEIGHT BEHIND AN EFFORT AT AGREEMENT. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, WE LET THE A-A PLAN DIE AND EVEN MERELY WATCHED WHILE SMITH WENT AHEAD WITH HIS INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, HE COULD NO LONGER HOLD OFF TOTAL AFRICAN COMMITMENT TO WAR, AND, HE ADDED, NONE OF US NEED HAVE ANY HOPE THAT THE A-A PLAN COULD BE RESURRECTED LATER.

11. COMMENT: SUBSEQUENT TO DRAFTING ABOVE, UK ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER CALLED ME TO SAY HE HAD RECEIVED INSTURCTIONS FROM LONDON TO GO AHEAD WITH OUR JOINT APPROACH A LA REF B. FIVE MINUTES AFTER WE INDICATED OUR DESIRE TO SEE PRESIDENT AT HIS CONVENIENCE, WE WERE ASKED TO COME TO HIM AT MSASANI AT ONCE. REPORT ON THAT MEETING WHICH CARRIED DISCUSSION REPORTED ABOVE SOMEWHAT FURTHER WILL FOLLOW SEPTTEL.
SPAIN

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